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SPEECH
OF
HON. ELIHU ROOT
SECRETARY OF WAR
AT
PEORIA, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 24, 1902

WASHINGTON, D. C. :
GIBSON BROS., PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS.
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TO: REFERRED FROM
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



FELLOW CITIZENS :

Once before, and only once, I have visited the city of Peoria. It was on that day, in the autumn of 1899, when the stately and beautiful monument to the soldiers of the Civil War, which adorns your public square, was unveiled. It was a day of festivity and rejoicing. All business and controversy and selfish care had been laid aside, and from all the town and all the country round the people had gathered to look upon the face and listen to the voice of their beloved President, William McKinley. As his sweet and vibrant tones carried his words to the very limits of the great throng, every sentence was an impulse of patriotism. Every wave of responsive sympathy lifted the people up to higher planes of citizenship and of manhood. Not merely what he said but what he was, the intimate relation of the listener to the man himself, for the moment ennobled every heart and forever left it better than it was before. His character was so pure, so unselfish, so free from uncharitableness and malice; his sympathies were so broad and genuine; his love of country and of humanity were so sincere; his sensitive regard for the feelings and desire for the happiness of others were so considerate; the native dignity and grace which fitted his high office were so charming—that the interests of political opposition and the rancor of partisan prejudice insensibly lost the wish to assail him; and even while he lived antagonism to the party leader merged into affection and honor for the man. His wisdom, his tenacity of purpose, his quiet and unostentatious strength, the sagacity and skill of his sympathetic control and leadership over men, made his nobility of character an active force for justice and peace and righteousness. Men may find, or think they find, error in his judgments. Men may differ as to the wisdom of his policies; but that his judgments were formed in sincerity as

he saw the right ; that his policies were the outcome of strong desire for the peace and happiness and honor of his country and of his race, and that he worked them out, so long as he lived, along the lines of justice and of humanity ; no one who knew him as we knew him, will ever doubt.

His memory lives. The powerful impress of his noble character persists. The lofty purpose with which he undertook the responsibilities and the duties which the fortunes of war cast upon the American Government is still the guide of action for his party and his country. The first words spoken by his successor, when taking the oath of office at Buffalo were : " It is my purpose to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country." I challenge judgment upon the truth and loyalty with which Theodore Roosevelt has redeemed his promise. The murderer's bullet robbed us of a friend, it did not produce a revolution. It changed rulers, it did not change policies. The great party which was in power has continued the same, and its policies have continued. President Roosevelt has followed them not merely because he promised but because he approved. If he had not approved he could not have promised, for there is no shadow of deceitfulness in him. With loyalty and resolution, with the vigor of his intense convictions, and with the honesty, frankness and courage for which the American people love him he has continued the work McKinley began and pressed forward the performance of the great duties which they both believed the welfare of their country and of mankind imposed upon the Government of the United States.

The American people is now called upon to consider whether it wishes to withdraw its support from the policy of McKinley and of Roosevelt and elect a House of Representatives which will oppose and, by a hostile majority, frustrate and prevent all further effective action by the President.

Of course such action as that would result in an ineffective Government. A Government half Republican and half Democratic can never be a Government of progress or of affirmative action. It cannot deal with difficulties or accom-

plish beneficent results. If the honor and welfare of the country demand that things be done, that constructive statesmanship accomplish results, such a divided Government would fail. That may be no reason why the people should not change the majority in the House for sufficient cause, but it is a reason why it should not be done lightly, thoughtlessly, and for the mere sake of change. Grave disapproval and loss of confidence only could justify the people in thus dividing their Government against itself.

What has the Republican Administration of the country done, or failed to do, to call down upon it such disapproval and loss of confidence?

The principal, indeed almost the sole attack by the representatives of the Democratic party, which occupied the greater part of the last session of Congress, was violent denunciation of the administration's policy in the Philippines, and of the execution of that policy. A crowd of difficulties to be dealt with by the administration had accompanied the war with Spain. A large army had been raised, the national debt had been increased by the borrowing of \$200,000,000, burdensome war taxes had been imposed. In the islands yielded or ceded by Spain, millions of men of alien races, differing in language, in laws, in customs, in traditions, in prejudices, in ways of thinking, most of them ignorant, most of them suspicious, many of them unfriendly, were to be pacified and reconciled and governed and taught self-government. New experiments in government were to be tried. There were no precedents, and precedents were to be made. There was no governmental machinery, and governmental machinery was to be constructed. The principles of American liberty were to be applied to new and strange conditions among peoples who hardly knew the alphabet of freedom.

By the spring of 1902 the Republican Administration had dealt with all these difficulties, and as to all but one had reached a point where the success of a wise policy and effective administration could not be gainsaid.

The army of 270,000 men had been disbanded, and the regular force had been reduced to two-thirds of the permanent number allowed by law to safeguard the country against future attacks. The war taxes had been repealed, and the industry and property the country had been relieved of their burden. The process of again reducing the national debt had progressed so far that, through payment and refunding, after paying all the expense of the war and in the Philippines, the annual interest charge upon the debt was less by \$6,844,431.70 than it was at the opening of the war with Spain.

Plain duty had been done by Porto Rico, and done with such judgment and discretion that a new system of taxation, suited to her conditions, was studied out in detail, put in force, and made productive, taking the place of the customs duties, upon which she had relied, without a break or embarrassment in the financial affairs of her government. American currency had replaced the Spanish pesos, civil government had been established upon just and firm foundations, the laws which protect individual liberty had been planted in that unfamiliar soil, the judicial procedure which protects the innocent had been substituted for arbitrary power, the writ of *habeas corpus*, the great writ of personal freedom, had supplanted the *incommunicado*. The storm of detraction and abuse which raged around the administration in the spring of 1900 had died away and disappeared upon the demonstration of the wisdom of the Republican Porto Rican policy, and before the spectacle of a prosperous and happy people, governed by the harmonious action of their own elected legislative assembly and of the officers appointed by the President of the United States.

The work of pacification and construction in Cuba had been completed. Military government there had faithfully given effect to the humane purposes of the American people. With sincere kindness our officers had helped the Cuban people to take the steps necessary to the establishment of their own constitutional government. During the time required for that process they had governed Cuba wisely and justly; had honestly

collected and expended for the interest of the people the revenues, amounting to nearly sixty millions of dollars ; had executed thorough sanitary measures, improving the health and lowering the death rate. By patient, scientific research, they had ascertained the causes of yellow fever, and by good administration had put an end to that most dreadful disease which had long destroyed the lives and hindered the commercial prosperity of the Cubans ; they had expedited justice and secured protection for the rights of the innocent, while they had cleansed the prisons and created healthful conditions for the punishment of the guilty ; they had provided adequate hospitals and asylums for the care of the unfortunate ; they had established a general system of free, common schools throughout the island, in which over two hundred thousand children were in actual attendance ; they had constructed great and necessary public works ; they had trained the Cubans themselves in all branches of administration so that the new government, upon assuming power, had begun its work with an experienced force of Cuban civil service employees competent to execute its orders ; they had borne themselves with dignity and self-control, so that nearly four years of military occupation had passed unmarred by injury or insult to man or woman ; they had transferred the government of Cuba to the Cuban people amid universal expressions of friendship and good will, and had left a record of justice and liberty, of rapid improvement in material and moral conditions, and of progress in the art of government which brought honor from all the world to the people of the United States.

Of all the executive problems following in the train of the Spanish war the problem of the Philippines alone remained. Success there had not then been demonstrated, and it was still possible that the failure there might lead the American people to withdraw power from Republican hands. Accordingly the Philippine policy of the Administration was attacked. I ask the people of the United States to consider the record made by the Democratic party in that attack.

The policy was simple. Spain, which for more than three

centuries before Dewey's victory had exercised undisputed sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, ceded the islands with all her title and sovereignty there to the United States, by the treaty of peace which was signed at Paris on the 10th of December, 1898, and was confirmed by the Senate of the United States on the 6th of February, 1899. The cession was one of the terms of peace, and was upon a special consideration of \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain by the United States. Upon the ratification of the treaty and the payment of that money, sovereignty over the Philippine Islands vested in the United States, the territory of the islands became the territory of the United States, the public lands belonging to Spain in the islands became the property of the United States; all the rights and all the obligations towards the other nations of the world in respect of the Philippine Islands which pertained to sovereignty devolved upon the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared this without difference of opinion.

For a long time before the ratification of the treaty the army of the United States had been in possession of the city of Manila, and on the 4th of February, two days before the ratification, a body of insurgents, under the Tagalog chieftain Aguinaldo, attacked our forces in that city, and they were driven back with heavy loss, and with the loss of 260 of our own soldiers, killed and wounded. Then the two armies rested, facing each other in long lines surrounding the city of Manila. Under these circumstances, and with a full knowledge of these facts, the treaty under which we acquired the Philippines and paid \$20,000,000 for them was ratified by two-thirds vote of the Senate. The vote was not a party vote. Some Republicans voted against the treaty. Many leading Democrats of the Senate voted in its favor. Mr. Bryan, the great Democratic leader of the day, was urgently in favor of the ratification. Subsequently the \$20,000,000 to pay for the islands was appropriated without a party division by an overwhelming vote of both Houses; and on the 2d of March Congress again without a party division authorized the increase of the regular army from 27,000 to 65,000, and the raising of

35,000 volunteers for service in the Philippine Islands, where active fighting had been resumed. The policy of the Republican Administration has been to maintain the sovereignty thus acquired; to put down the insurrection against that sovereignty by the use of the means thus furnished by the people of the United States without regard to party; and then to give to the people of the islands all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, of just and equal laws, of good and honest administration, of education, of individual freedom, of social order, and of self-government just so far as they were competent to govern themselves.

President McKinley declared that policy in his message of that year in these words:

“Until Congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats. I shall put at the disposal of the Army and Navy all the means which the liberality of Congress and the people have provided to cause this unprovoked and wasteful insurrection to cease. If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations, they would not be lacking; but every step of the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents. The truest kindness to them will be a swift and effective defeat of their present leader. The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not

lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

The Civil Commission, of which President Schurman was the head, after studying the subject on the ground, in the Philippines, declared their conclusions in these words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous, and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat.

It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The Commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

In those early months of 1899, when the course of our Government towards the insurrection had to be determined, there was no difference of opinion between the two parties as to the duty of the Administration. The Democratic equally with the Republican press throughout the country demanded that this policy be followed.

"In the light of the thrilling news from Manila," said the *Atlanta Constitution* of February 6, 1899, "there now remains but one course for the American Government to pursue, and that is to conquer the forces of Aguinaldo. In our own way and in our own time we can deal with the question of local government in the Philippines, but as long as an armed foe stands in the way the only work ahead of us will be to vindicate the authority of the flag."

The *Louisville Courier-Journal* of the same day declared:

"There can be but one result, which will be the prompt and complete assertion of our authority over Aguinaldo and his Tagalogs as it was asserted over the Spaniards.

We know how to deal with the misguided and maliciously instigated insubordination of the Filipinos."

The New Orleans *Picayune* said :

"It will now be necessary to crush the insurrection and firmly establish the American control before the future form of government for the islands can be for a moment considered."

The Nashville *American* :

"We must make them know that our power is supreme, otherwise we cannot give to them the blessings freedom and individual liberty have in store. The United States cannot and will not yield to Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo must and will yield to the United States."

The New York *Journal* said :

"To the unprovoked attack upon our forces at Manila while we were extending every effort to reach an amicable adjustment with the Filipinos, and while our commission of inquiry was actually on the way, there can be but one answer. Order must be restored in the Philippines. The men who have taken our forbearance for weakness must be taught their mistake. American authority must be established at once beyond challenge throughout the archipelago."

The Memphis *Commercial* said :

"As long as they fight American troops our policy will be to fight back and fight to conquer."

The Denver *Daily News* :

"That act has made it impossible for the United States to leave those islands until it has administered justice to those responsible for the attack. While it may be determined not to hold these islands, and may be disadvantageous to hold them, still our national dignity and honor will not permit our forces to be driven out."

Here and there an individual voice was raised counseling surrender and retreat, but the general voice of the people, without distinction of party, and without regard to selfish interest, seconded the action of Congress and the requirements of the Constitution in demanding from the Executive the suppression of insurrection and the establishment of peace-

ful government in the Philippine Islands under the sovereignty of the United States.

That task also has now been accomplished. The sound of angry voices declaring that it never could and never would be done had hardly died away in our national capital when, on the 4th of July last, the last hostile gun was laid down, the last insurgent surrendered, the last remnant of military government was terminated, civil government, with just and equal laws maintaining social order and protecting property and life and liberty, was established over the last province of the Philippines outside of the Moro country, the flag under which Lawton and Logan fell floated the emblem of acknowledged sovereignty over every island and every town, and our President celebrated the anniversary of national independence by proclaiming peace and general amnesty. The task has not been an easy one. I cannot better describe the work our soldiers had to do and the way they did it than by reading the words of the general order which signalized the termination of their most arduous labors :

“ The President thanks the officers and enlisted men of the army in the Philippines, both regulars and volunteers, for the courage and fortitude, the indomitable spirit and loyal devotion with which they have put down and ended the great insurrection which has raged throughout the archipelago against the lawful sovereignty and just authority of the United States. The task was peculiarly difficult and trying. They were required at first to overcome organized resistance of superior numbers, well equipped with modern arms of precision, intrenched in an unknown country of mountain defiles, jungles, and swamps, apparently capable of interminable defense. When this resistance had been overcome they were required to crush out a general system of guerrilla warfare conducted among a people speaking unknown tongues, from whom it was almost impossible to obtain the information necessary for successful pursuit or to guard against surprise and ambush.

“ The enemies by whom they were surrounded were regardless of all obligations of good faith and of all the limitations which humanity has imposed upon civilized war-

fare. Bound themselves by the laws of war, our soldiers were called upon to meet every device of unscrupulous treachery and to contemplate without reprisal the infliction of barbarous cruelties upon their comrades and friendly natives. They were instructed, while punishing armed resistance, to conciliate the friendship of the peaceful, yet had to do with a population among whom it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, and who in countless instances, used a false appearance of friendship for ambush and assassination. They were obliged to deal with problems of communication and transportation in a country without roads and frequently made impassable by torrential rains. They were weakened by tropical heat and tropical disease. Widely scattered over a great archipelago, extending a thousand miles from north to south, the gravest responsibilities, involving the life or death of their commands, frequently devolved upon young and inexperienced officers beyond the reach of specific orders or advice.

“Under all these adverse circumstances the Army of the Philippines has accomplished its task rapidly and completely. In more than two thousand combats, great and small, within three years, it has exhibited unvarying courage and resolution. Utilizing the lessons of the Indian wars, it has relentlessly followed the guerrilla bands to their fastnesses in mountain and jungle and crushed them. It has put an end to the vast system of intimidation and secret assassination by which the peaceful natives were prevented from taking a genuine part in government under American authority. It has captured or forced to surrender substantially all the leaders of the insurrection. It has submitted to no discouragement and halted at no obstacle. Its officers have shown high qualities of command, and its men have shown devotion and discipline. Its splendid virile energy has been accompanied by self-control, patience and magnanimity. With surprisingly few individual exceptions its course has been characterized by humanity and kindness to the prisoner and the non-combatant. With admirable good temper, sympathy, and loyalty to American ideals, its commanding generals have joined with the civilian agents of the Government in healing the wounds of war and assuring to the people of the Philippines the blessings of peace and prosperity. Individual liberty, protection of

personal rights, civil order, public instruction, and religious freedom have followed its footsteps. It has added honor to the flag which it defended, and has justified increased confidence in the future of the American people, whose soldiers do not shrink from labor or death, yet love liberty and peace.

“ The President feels that he expresses the sentiments of all the loyal people of the United States in doing honor to the whole army which has joined in the performance and shares in the credit of these honorable services.”

The problem to be worked out in the Philippines was not a military problem alone. At the bottom of our difficulties lay the fact that the Spaniards, to secure the assistance of the people against us, and after them the ambitious men who saw the opportunity to secure empire for themselves, had filled the minds of the ignorant and credulous people with vile slanders upon American character, and the most extravagant and grotesque tales of American tyranny and barbarity. They described us as monsters in human form, who sought to fasten upon the miserable Filipinos a tyranny worse than that of Spain, and who would respect neither the rights of man nor the virtue of woman, nor the innocence of childhood, nor the sacredness of religion. To dispel this dreadful belief words were of no avail. Assurance and promises were useless, for they were not believed. Before a genuine acceptance of our sovereignty could come, except by the sullen acquiescence of the conquered, it was necessary that we should demonstrate to the great mass of the people of the islands that our sovereignty meant justice and not oppression, liberty and not slavery, protection of law and not the license of arbitrary power. And so without waiting until the termination of the war, we established civil government to go hand in hand with our advancing armies.

A new civil commission was created with Judge Taft at its head. As armed resistance ceased, island by island, province by province, town by town, civil government was substituted for Military Government; the bill of rights extended its protection over the people; the writ of habeas corpus

became the guaranty of their liberty; elections were held at which the people chose the officers of their own towns and provinces; a native constabulary was organized, and proved faithful and effective for the protection of life and property; the people resumed their customary avocations under the protection of law. In this way when the insurrection breathed its last in the mountains of Batangas the great body of the people had already commenced to learn the true and beneficent meaning of American sovereignty, and a civil government built up by the careful labor of years was already in existence, fully organized and ready for the final extension of its authority. The instructions given by the President to the Philippine Commission, which constitute both the organic law of the civil government and the code of rules and principles to guide its conduct, have been adopted by Congress without change and practically without criticism as the future guide of that Government's action. The system of government created under these instructions is continued by Congress unchanged, except by the enlargement of its power. I invite comparison between the body of laws enacted by the Philippine Commission, 441 in number, and the statutes of any State and of any country. They exhibit constructive ability, legislative skill, painstaking familiarity with conditions, and fidelity to constitutional principles. The public revenues have been honestly collected and honestly administered for the benefit of the people, under a strict and thorough audit. Notwithstanding the insurrection, the business of the islands has flourished and has become nearly double what it was in the most peaceful years under Spanish rule. I quote from a circular issued by the German government last year, for the information of German producers and exporters:

“Although the pacification of the Philippine Archipelago has not as yet been fully established, the accounts of its economic department are so favorable that it cannot be too strongly urged upon German exporters to give particular attention to this group of islands. From July, 1900, to March, 1901, the exports have increased by 31

per cent. and the imports by 52 per cent., as compared with those of the same period of the preceding year. The testimony cannot be withheld that the American administration of the affairs of the Philippines has, as far as the economic betterment of the country is concerned, already achieved extraordinary success.

"In 1894, which was the last year of peaceful condition while under Spanish rule, the Philippine imports reached \$28,500,000 and the exports \$33,100,000, Mexican, in value. Under American rule, in spite of the continued insurrection of the natives, the imports increased in 1899 to \$40,900,000 and in 1900 to \$55,500,000, Mexican, and the exports to \$38,500,000 and \$53,400,000, respectively. Military supplies are not included in these figures. The detailed statistics show that Spanish trade with these islands is rapidly diminishing, but commercial relations with the United States are gaining."

A million dollars has been applied to the construction of roads, two million dollars to the improvement of the harbor of Manila; a system of free public schools has been established; 180,000 children are enrolled; and a thousand teachers brought from America and nearly four thousand native teachers are instructing them. A normal school has been established in Manila. Ten thousand adults are attending night schools to learn English. In selecting the employees of the civil government a rigid and comprehensive civil service law has been faithfully observed. A majority of the prominent men of the insurrection are taking part in the new government. Of the seven commissioners who, with the Governor, exercise legislative power, three are Filipinos. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and an Associate Justice, many of the Judges of the first instance and many other high officials, are Filipinos. While we have reduced our American troops in the islands from about 70,000 to about 20,000, we have enlisted about 5,000 natives, who have proved to be trustworthy and efficient, and there is no longer occasion to doubt that either as a military force or as a constabulary, the natives of the islands themselves can be trusted to take the principal burden of maintaining order, and that only a small force of American

troops will be required. Our position in the Philippines to-day is far better than the most sanguine American could reasonably have expected in those early days of 1899, when the Democratic press and Democratic leaders were joining with the Republicans in the declaration that the insurrection must be put down. We shall have discouragements and reverses in the future as we have in the past. Grave difficulties doubtless await us, but the greatest difficulties are past. The legislation enacted at the last session of Congress secures the good which has been accomplished, and with wise conservatism opens the way to future progress. The taking of a census under its provisions has already been ordered, and after the census will follow a legislative assembly elected by the Filipinos in which they can test and exercise their capacity for government on the broader field as they are already doing in their local affairs. We know now that steady and faithful adherence to the course which McKinley began and Roosevelt is following, will prove beyond question or cavil the truth of the declaration that our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing, and that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to the Philippine shores.

Before the American people determine whether they will withdraw from the administration which has done these things, the power to continue its effective action, and hamper it by an adverse majority in the House of Representatives, I would like to have them understand and consider what part the Democratic party has played in this history.

It concerned the credit and honor of our country that we should succeed in the Philippines. If we had failed, we should have stood before all the world, and in our own consciousness as well, convicted of weakness and inefficiency and of lacking the strength and unity of purpose and the capacity for resolute and persistent action, without which no nation can be great.

And, my fellow-citizens, there come always in every great and difficult undertaking times when failure seems possible; times when discouragements and difficulties and doubts beset

the pathway of endeavor. Then it is that high courage and unshaken resolve mark the quality of a nation's greatness, and then it is that faint hearts with querulous regrets and carping complaints seek always to give up the fight. Such times came during the Philippine insurrection. Where was the Democratic party then? Was it helping the nation to succeed, or was it helping the Administration to fail? The very men who had cried "Down with Aguinaldo," "Hurrah for the flag," "The insurrection must be put down;" the very men who had voted to take the cession of the Philippines, who had voted the money to pay for the Philippines, who had voted for the troops to send to the Philippines, to put down the insurrection, seized the moment of discouragement to demand that in the face of armed resistance, the war should be declared a failure, the struggle should be given up, sovereignty should be relinquished, and defeated and humiliated America should surrender the cause for which the lives of so many of her soldiers had been sacrificed. There were some honorable exceptions, but most of them retired to the background and left the leadership of the party to the men who were willing to voice this policy which for all time would have marked us as a nation rash in counsel and feeble in execution.

The new leaders filled the air with outcries over the cost of suppressing the insurrection.

They wrung the hearts of our people by parading the sad statistics which told the story of our dead and wounded.

They protested that the islands would never pay, and pointed with triumph to the custom-house figures, which showed that although our trade with the Philippines had increased, it had not in the midst of insurrection sprung up like Jonah's gourd in a single night.

They asserted that we never could and never would succeed. "Thirty thousand, forty thousand, fifty thousand men will be required for five years, for twenty-five years," they cried. Five months have not passed and there are but 20,000 American soldiers there. They tore passion to tatters in their insistence upon the construction of the Constitution which

would include the archipelago within the provisions of the Dingley Tariff, and subject that distant tropical country to the duties provided to suit the conditions of life and production of the United States. With vindictive insolence they denounced the Supreme Court for deciding otherwise, and then urged that Congress should include the islands within that tariff law. Was it because they sought the welfare of the Filipino that they desired to impose upon him the provisions of this statute, which they abhor and condemn? Certainly not. It was because those duties were so unsuited to the life of the Philippine Islands, that business there could not continue and the people could not live under them, and an attempt to govern the islands under them would have been an inevitable failure.

They gave courage and hope to the insurgent leaders by constantly insisting that terms should be made, that independence should be conceded, that the insurgents should be induced to lay down their arms by promises, and they thus continually supplied incentive to further resistance by the apparent possibility of substantial success.

They slandered our title, and denied that we acquired sovereignty at all by the cession from Spain.

They asserted that we had no right to succeed because we had promised Aguinaldo independence, and the assertion of sovereignty was an act of perfidy—the perfidy of George Dewey and Wesley Merritt and William McKinley! They asserted this against the official reports and the sworn testimony of Dewey, who alone could have made the promise; against the evidence of the original written document signed by Aguinaldo and his associates, which shows that he came to Manila not relying upon any promise; but with the expressed intention to obtain arms from the Americans in order to use them first against the Spaniards and then against the Americans themselves. They asserted it against the written statement of Mabini, the Prime Minister of the insurrection, declaring that there was no agreement whatever, and against the admission of Aguinaldo that there was none.

They charged that the outbreak of hostilities on the fourth

of February was an unprovoked and wicked attack by the American soldiers upon the peaceful Filipinos who had no thought of war; and this in the face of the written evidence, over the signature of Aguinaldo himself, by proclamation, by letter, by telegram, by military order, that the Philippine forces had been for months preparing and intending to bring on that very conflict. They charged that the officers of our army were guilty of the atrocious wickedness of making that attack to affect the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, and they charged that the dispatches which Dewey and Otis sent were sent in anticipation, before the fight occurred.

They asserted that we had no right to succeed because we found a people struggling for liberty and became their ally. There is no basis for the assertion. When Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, the people of the Philippines were not struggling at all. There was no insurrection there. There had been an insurrection, and it had been terminated four months before by the payment of money to the leaders, the chief of whom was Aguinaldo, and their expatriation to Hong-kong. The agreement by which that insurrection was terminated said nothing either about independence or about reforms. It was a simple agreement to stop fighting for money; and it declared that Aguinaldo and his associates desired to preserve their Spanish citizenship.

Here is a copy of Aguinaldo's proclamation when he left his country:

“BIACNABATO, *December 25, 1897.*

“I lay down my arms because further warfare will bring not happiness but trouble and disaster, which is not the end the insurrection seeks. I quit the field since my ambitions for my people are one with the lofty desires of the noble Governor General, Señor Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, Marquis de Estrella, who inspired by his love for our dear country inaugurated an era of peace from that time he took up the reins of government of this Spanish territory. I lay down arms in accordance with the patriotic advice of the intermediary, the maginoo, Pedro A. Paterno, lover of the well-being of our mutual native

land. I go of my own will. I go for in spite of the personal immunity which is given me by the laws, by promises and by Spanish honor, yet the violent passion of hatred or some other political excitement might raise its suicidal hand and make anew victims, thereby creating disturbances and interfering with the progress of our development.

Viva Espana, Viva Filipinas."

He declares that he leaves because his ambitions for his people are one with the desires of the Spanish Governor General. There was surely no independence in those desires. And he concludes "Viva Espana, Viva Filipinas!" That was the condition of affairs at the time when the outbreak of war between Spain and the United States suggested to the little band of expatriated adventurers in Hongkong that they might profit by our destruction of the Spanish power with which they were in such appreciative accord. When Aguinaldo first went ashore from Dewey's ship on the 19th of May, 1898, to start the insurrection with the arms that Dewey furnished to him, he found no insurrection and no support, and returned discouraged to the ship and asked to be sent to Japan because he could do nothing. Dewey told him to try again and sent him back. And now his friends here say there was an implied obligation to give him the country, for Dewey found the people struggling for their liberty. After reading the proclamation announcing the accord of Aguinaldo with the lofty desires of the Spanish Governor General, this letter which he has just written to the President is most interesting:

"The Honorable THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States of America.

"SIR: I have the honor to present to you an expression of my gratitude for the amnesty which opens the prison doors and lifts the ban of banishment from many Filipinos who have honorably struggled for their ideal.

"I trust that such a generous and noble course on the part of the Nation which you represent will be beneficial in uniting, in the future, the friendly relations between Americans and Filipinos, and I am assured that with the

disinterested and just protection of the worthy descendants of the great George Washington, the aspirations of my country will be satisfied, and which, I am sure, will fully demonstrate its gratitude for the benefits which are being done for us.

“Very respectfully,

“EMILIO AGUINALDO Y FAMILY.

“MANILA, CALLE CONCORDIA, *July 5, 1902.*”

He is a philosopher that Aguinaldo!

The Democrats in Congress declared that we ought not to succeed because the Filipinos were competent to govern themselves. We know that in fact their pretense of constitutional government disappeared at the first symptom of dissent from Aguinaldo's will, and he became an absolute military dictator. We know this power was made secure by the assassination of his rival, Luna, who, whether by Aguinaldo's order or not, was slain upon Aguinaldo's threshold by Aguinaldo's guards.

I read the description of that government from the report of the Commission of which President Schurman was the head:

“Throughout the archipelago at large there was trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalos had been sent in considerable numbers. In general, such machinery of ‘government’ as existed served only for plundering the people under the pretext of levying ‘war contributions,’ and while many of the insurgent officials were rapidly accumulating wealth. The administration of justice was paralyzed, and crime of all sorts was rampant. Might was the one law. Never in the worst days of Spanish misrule had the people been so over-taxed or so badly governed. In many provinces there was absolute anarchy, and from all cities came petitions for protection and help which we were unable to give.”

Among the captured telegrams is one from Noirel and Cailles which further illustrates the character of the government to which we would have left the millions of humble and peaceful people of the Philippines. It is dated on the 13th of

January, 1899, just twenty-two days before the outbreak of hostilities, and it throws light also upon the Democratic assertion that we were the aggressors in that conflict.

“To the President of the Republican Government, Malolos :

“We desire to know the result of ultimatum which you mentioned in your telegram, and we also desire to know what reward our government is preparing for the forces who will first be able to enter Manila.”

And here is the answer which we have in Aguinaldo's own handwriting :

“As to the contents of your telegram, those who prove themselves heroes will have as rewards large sums of money, lands, extraordinary promotions, crosses of Biacnabato, Marquis of Malate, Ermita, and Count of Manila, etc., besides the congratulations of our idolizing country on account of their patriotism, and more if they capture the regiments with their generals, and if possible the chief of them all who represents our future enemies in Manila.”

Where were the people to be when the Marquis of Malate, the Marquis of Ermita and the Count of Manila were established over them with their large sums of money and grants of land? What was Aguinaldo's title to be? What was to become of the sham constitution under which he was then masquerading and which forbade the granting of titles of nobility? No, acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippines carried with it acceptance of the duty of protection; and we should have been false to that duty if we had left these people under the cruel and despotic rule of this dictator with his generals and his Marquises and his Counts.

Our Democratic friends brush aside with contempt all American testimony. The words of Schurman and Taft, and Otis and Wright, and Chaffee are as naught to them, but I will cite to them a greater than Aguinaldo. The greatest genius and most revered patriot of the Philippines was Jose Rizal. Shortly before he was done to death by Spain he sent a mes-

sage to his countrymen. It must have been his last message ; and in it he condemned the insurrection of Aguinaldo, which terminated just before our Navy appeared upon the scene, and pointed out the path his people should follow to liberty and enlightenment. This is the message :

“ MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN :

“ On my return from Spain I learned that my name was being used as a war cry by men in arms. This news shocked me beyond measure, but believing it was all over I remained silent as the harm was done and the deed could not be recalled. Now I hear rumors that the disturbances continue and lest anyone should be taking advantage of my name in good or bad faith, I write now to correct that abuse and to undeceive those reckless men in order that they may know the truth. When I found out what they were attempting to do, I opposed it on principle and attacked it and showed the utter impossibility of its success.

“ I was convinced that the idea was in the greatest degree absurd and what was worse would be fatal. When, later, in spite of my advice, the movement was begun, I offered of my own accord, not only my services, but my life and even my good name to be used in any way they might believe effective in stifling the rebellion. I thought of the disaster which would follow the success of the revolution, and I deemed myself fortunate if by any sacrifice I could block the progress of such a useless calamity. This can be proven.

“ My countrymen, I have given proof that I was one who sought ‘ liberties ’ for our country and I still seek them. But as a first step I insisted upon the development of the people in order that, by means of education and of labor, they might acquire the proper individuality and force which would make them worthy of them. In my writings I have commended to you study and civic virtue without which our redemption does not exist. I have also written, and my words have been repeated, that reforms to be effective must come from above. These which come from below will be discountenanced, will be irregular and unstable. Permeated by these ideas, I cannot do less than condemn, and I do condemn this absurd and savage insurrection planned behind my back, which dishonors us before the Filipinos and discredits us with those who

otherwise would argue in our behalf. I abominate its cruelties and I disavow any kind of connection with it, regretting with all the sorrow of my soul that these reckless men have allowed themselves to be deceived. Let them return then, to their homes, and may God pardon those who have acted in bad faith.

“ JOSE RIZAL.

“ Fort Santiago, December 16, 1896.”

That message is the platform of the American Government in the Philippines. What was true of the people rebelling against Spain is doubly true of the same people rebelling against the United States. That judgment of the man whose birthday the Philippine people celebrate, and whom they worship as a saint, measures the duty of American sovereignty which the American people will surely perform.

The Democrats declared that we had no right to succeed because our assertion of sovereignty was a violation of the Declaration of Independence, which declares that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. That maxim, though general in its terms, was enunciated with reference to a highly civilized, self-governing people. Its unqualified application to barbarous and semi-civilized people is contrary to the whole course of civilization. Its unqualified application without regard to the rule and progress of humanity and ordered liberty among men is contrary to the whole course of American history. Without the consent of the hundreds of thousands of Indians whom our fathers found in possession of this land we have assumed and exercised sovereignty over them. Without the consent of the people of Louisiana, Jefferson and the signers of the Declaration and framers of the Constitution purchased and exercised sovereignty over them. Without the consent of the people of the South the Government of the United States, with appalling sacrifice of life and treasure, enforced its sovereignty over them.

Whose consent were we to ask in the Philippines, and how was it to be expressed? Were we to accept the results of the

misrepresentation and calumny which had painted us to the ignorant and credulous Filipinos as monsters of cruelty, and yield our sovereignty because they did not know what it meant to them?

Among the captured insurgent documents we find original telegraphic dispatches, most of them bearing memoranda or endorsements in Aguinaldo's handwriting, which show that the people of Northern Luzon did not consent to Aguinaldo's government, and that it was imposed upon them by force of arms.

I read extracts from some of the dispatches : From General Pio del Pilar, San Pedro Mascati. to Aguinaldo, December 4, 1898. "Urgent. Reliable reports from Pangasinan state there is party composed of 4,000 individuals opposed to our government. Treason on the part of our troops and civilians."

From the Director of Diplomacy, Manila, to Aguinaldo, December 27, 1898, 5 A. M. : "Most urgent. The discontent in the provinces of Pangasinan, Tarlac and Yloco (Ilocos) is increasing. The town of Bangbang rose in revolt the 25th and 26th of this month, and killed all of the civil officials. It is impossible to describe the abuses committed by the military and civil authority of said province."

From the Secretary of Interior, Malolos, to Aguinaldo, December 28, 1898 : "According to my information the excitement in Tarlac increases. I do not think that the people of the province would have committed such barbarities by themselves. For this reason the silence of General Macabulos is suspicious. To speak frankly, it encourages the rebels. Some 700 of them with 150 rifles entered Panique, seized the arms of the police, the town funds, and attacked the houses of the people."

From the Director of Diplomacy, Manila, to Aguinaldo, December 29, 1898 : "The question of Tarlac and Pangasinan is a serious one. Malolo's government calls me to restore it in said provinces. I await your opinion and order."

Where under the rule of force to which we aided Aguinaldo in Northern Luzon was the consent of the government to be ascertained?

The great Visayan island of Negros has never from the beginning wavered in its cheerful acceptance of our sovereignty and its rejection of Tagalog rule.

The difference between that and the other islands of the Visayan group is that in the others the Tagalogs arrived first and secured control by force of arms, which, with those accustomed for centuries to follow blindly the men in authority over them, made consent a necessary sequence.

When the natives began to know us and to learn what our sovereignty really meant they did manifest their acceptance of it by the thousands, and what happened to them then? I read from reports received in response to a circular letter to our officers sent at the instance of Governor Taft, to ascertain what was done by the bands of assassins who were supporting the power of Aguinaldo to the Filipinos who dared to give the consent of the governed to American sovereignty. The reports show in the first district of Southern Luzon natives assassinated for sympathizing with Americans, 14; natives assaulted for sympathizing with Americans, 104. In the second district of Southern Luzon natives assassinated for sympathizing with Americans, 17; natives assaulted for sympathizing with Americans, 106. In the first district of Northern Luzon natives assassinated, 100; natives assaulted, 40. In the third district of Northern Luzon, natives assassinated, 106; natives assaulted, 131. And so on throughout the islands, showing before the end of 1900, 350 natives assassinated and 442 assaulted and mutilated; 67 municipal officers assassinated and 40 assaulted and mutilated for daring to give the consent of the governed to American sovereignty. Many of them were put to death with frightful barbarity. Some of them were buried alive; some hacked to pieces; some burned. While there were hundreds slain that we knew, there were thousands slain that we did not know. Where there were thousands put to death, how many were deterred by fear of death? The reign of terror established throughout the islands to prevent by secret and wholesale assassination, the consent of the governed to American rule makes the Mafia seem harmless and beneficent. Are we to

surrender our sovereignty because the consent was withheld by these means?

Not content with denying our right to succeed, the Democrats of Congress came to the aid of the men who were preventing Philippine acceptance of American authority by misrepresentation and slander, and furnished them with fresh material and new authority for their aspersions upon the character and purposes of the American people.

“Our dealings with the American Indians,” said the junior Senator from Tennessee in the Senate on the first of May, “have been fitly characterized as a century of dishonor; our treaties with them have been shamefully violated; we have delivered them over to the tender mercies of thieving Indian agents; we have inflamed them with injustice and mean whiskey; and when in sheer desperation they have risen in revolt we have made them ‘good Indians’ with powder and ball.”

* * * * *

“Alaska was ceded to us by despotic Russia, and came under the benign rule of this great Republic. For thirty-five years our continuous misgovernment of that country has been a shame and disgrace to the nation.

* * * * *

“When the gloss is worn off, when the syndicated boomers have appropriated the cream of the spoils, when the Government sinks into the dull routine of administration, it will be in the Philippines precisely as it has been in Alaska. We know what kind of men as a rule will be sent to serve in the Philippine Islands. Needy and desperate adventurers, broken-down politicians looking for a job, the sons, nephews, and cousins of American politicians, the Rathbones and Neelys; men who have qualified themselves for service abroad by the dirty and villainous work they have done at home. These are the men who as a rule will find service in the Philippine Islands as they did in Cuba, as my friend from Mississippi suggests.

* * * * *

“The entire archipelago is swarming with needy and desperate adventurers seeking to reap their inhuman harvests from the calamities of the people. American Con-

gressmen and American officials have been forming syndicates and prowling over that country seeking to make off with something that could be turned into a dollar. The whole pack of lean and famished carpet-baggers that once feasted upon the South seem to be howling upon the scent of another victim."

"I infer," said the Senator from Utah, "that this is the inauguration of a scheme of loot and plunder and of exploitation—another plowing of a ruined Carthage. You have garnered the harvest of death, and now propose to rake the stubblefield of a slaughtered people.

* * * * *

"Mr. President, we have accomplished nothing for the benefit of the islands there. The condition there is so intolerable that language is inadequate to describe it, and what has taken place, if you continue the same policy, is likely to be augmented, and multiplied in its distress and disaster in the future."

Congressman Selby, of Illinois, said :

"This 'new policy' business has given birth to the biggest crop of liars at Washington and Luzon known outside the realms of hades. It has turned out that no Republican can visit Manila and return to Washington a truthful man. Even the Commission headed by Governor Taft is largely under suspicion of prevarication, if not of fraud, while Generals Otis and Chaffee have always been under suspicion. Is it possible that large salaries and the hope of great perquisites influence these gentlemen and their retainers in distorting the situation at Luzon? Who knows, for the almighty dollar is a great magnet in all colonial schemes, and its cobra head is visible in all the Philippines."

I do not wonder that with such declarations as these in the Congress of the United States the Filipinos distrust our assurances and wait for proof that our rule will really mean liberty and prosperity. If Senators of the United States have no faith in the justice or integrity or virtue of the American people, how can we expect the people of the Philippines to have faith.

The most violent of all attacks was made upon the Army, which belongs to no party and is but the instrument of a policy in which it has no part. It happened that in the long course of guerrilla warfare against savage and treacherous foes who observed none of the rules of civilized warfare there were instances of cruel and inhuman treatment of the natives by our men. The "water-cure," so called, was administered to extort information. These acts were not justified, and they could not be justified, but spread over years of conflict, over a vast extent of territory, over thousands of engagements and skirmishes and expeditions, in which, first and last, 130,000 of our troops were engaged, they were few and far between—exceptions in a uniform course of self-restraint, humanity, and kindness. Rumor magnified them many fold. Each new witness to the same case seemed to be producing a new case; published in thousands of newspapers day after day and week after week, they seemed to be multiplied. Many of the stories told were false, many were grossly exaggerated. All were published without the background of provocation, often dreadful provocation, of exigency often desperate exigency, which existed to palliate, though they could not justify the acts. All of these stories, false as well as true, were paraded in Congress and discussed, and the officers and men charged were denounced, the innocent as well as the guilty, without an opportunity for hearing while they were away on the other side of the world fighting the battles of their country.

The whole Army and its generals were involved in common denunciation. The gallant and fearless Funston was stigmatized by the Senator from Tennessee as a "blatherskite brigadier." "I do not know who General Wheaton is, particularly," said the Senator from Idaho, "but I imagine he was a charity boy who was appointed to West Point by some Representative or Senator and was educated by the Government."

This was of Loyd Wheaton, who enlisted from this very town as a private in the 8th Ohio Volunteers on the 20th of April, 1861, the day after Lincoln's first call, who won his way up through every grade in that regiment until he was

honorably discharged as its lieutenant-colonel at the close of the civil war; who was wounded at Shiloh; was brevetted for faithful and meritorious services in the Mobile campaign; was brevetted again for gallantry at the Siege of Vicksburg; was brevetted again and received a medal of honor from Congress for most distinguished gallantry at Fort Blakely, Alabama; received his appointment in the regular army for those deeds and passed through every grade until after more than forty years of exceptional and conspicuous service, he was about retiring as major-general, full of years and of honor.

When the worst charge of all, subsequently shown to be utterly false, was under discussion in the Senate, the Senator from Tennessee declared:

“Of course the soldier, whatever he may have said, will promptly repudiate it as every soldier in the Philippine Islands has been required and compelled to do.”

Said the Senator from Utah:

“Did Chaffee alone, unaided, in coldness, and in brutality and in savage and unrelenting disregard of every human sentiment or possibility of human suffering, conceive this iniquitous scheme? Whence, from what diabolical source was it derived? The American people ought to know. Is there any penalty beneath the sun adequate to be meted out to the merciless wretch who has thus brought such dishonor upon the American name and the American people?”

* * * * *

“Mr. President, I do not believe that Bell himself ever conceived this iniquity; this outline of policy. Perhaps it may have been Chaffee, who received his education in savagery and in cruelty and in barbarity over in China, where we are informed the allied forces took little children and brained them upon posts, threw them into rivers, and slaughtered and persecuted without mercy and without limit helpless women. After he had received that training, he superseded the more humane officer, General MacArthur. Then it was that this diabolical programme seems to have been adopted and carried out in all its hideousness and rigor.”

This was of Adna R. Chaffee. As a boy of nineteen, on the 22d of July, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the 6th Cavalry. He served through all the Civil War; was brevetted for gallantry at Gettysburg; again for gallantry at Dinwiddie Court-house; twice brevetted for gallant service in engagements with the Indians; wounded in the Gettysburg campaign; wounded again at the battle of Brandy Station; highly commended for his services as general officer at El Caney and Santiago; chief of staff in Cuba; commander of the American troops in China; commanding general in the Philippines; second ranking major-general of the United States Army. It was he who, when officers of other nations hesitated to make the march to Peking, when other generals wished to wait for reinforcements that would have come too late; it was he who declared that whatever they might do, he proposed to march at once, and he did march, and they all marched with him, and the legations were saved. Great credit came to the American Army, because in that march and after Peking was captured, American soldiers under Chaffee did not loot and were not cruel, but protected the property and the lives of the Chinese.

The quarter of Peking over which the American flag floated was crowded by the poor people when other parts were deserted, because under that flag they found protection and kindness, and upon General Chaffee's departure he was accompanied by many most touching and gratifying expressions of gratitude and affection from the people who had received the benefits of his humanity. I did not think an American could be found who was not proud of that record.

Against these contemptuous and injurious aspersions upon the soldiers of the United States I will call four witnesses:

The first is William McKinley:

“If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations, they would not be lacking, but every step in the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents.”

The second is President Schurman, and joining with him Admiral George Dewey and the other members of the first Philippine Commission :

“ To those who derive satisfaction from seizing on isolated occurrences—regrettable, indeed, but incident to every war—and making them the basis of sweeping accusations, this Commission has nothing to say. Still less do we feel called upon to answer idle tales without foundation in fact. But for the satisfaction of those who have found it difficult to understand why the transporting of American citizens across the Pacific Ocean should change their nature, we are glad to express the belief that a war was never more humanely conducted. Insurgents wounded were repeatedly succored on the field by our men at the risk of their lives. Those who had a chance for life were taken to Manila and tenderly cared for in our hospitals. If churches were occupied, it was only as a military necessity, and frequently after their use as forts by the insurgents had made it necessary to train our artillery upon them. Prisoners were taken whenever opportunity offered, often only to be set at liberty after being disarmed and fed. Up to the time of our departure, although numerous spies had been captured, not a single Filipino had been executed. Such wrongs as were actually committed against the natives were likely to be brought to our attention, and in every case that we investigated we found a willingness on the part of those in authority to administer prompt justice.”

The third is Governor William H. Taft, of Ohio, who said in his testimony under oath before the Philippine Committee of the Senate :

“ I desire to say that it is my deliberate judgment that there never was a war conducted, whether against inferior races or others, in which there was more compassion and more restraint and more generosity, assuming that there was war at all, than there have been in the Philippine Islands.”

The fourth is Vice-Governor Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee :

“General Chaffee, as a matter of course, had no patience with any acts of oppression or cruelty, and whenever his attention has been called to them has at once taken proper steps. The howl against the army has been made mainly for political purposes and the cruelties practiced have been largely exaggerated. Of course, numerous instances of this character have occurred. There never was and never will be a war of which the same may not be said ; but taken as a whole, and when the character of the warfare here is considered, I think the officers and men of the American army have been forbearing and humane in their dealings with the natives, and the attempt to create a contrary impression is not only unjust to them, but it seems to me unpatriotic as well.”

No one of these positions, these arguments, these efforts, these attacks, by the Democratic leaders during the critical and trying time of our Philippine undertaking stands by itself. Men may differ upon this point and upon that point, upon this question and upon that question, and different environment and disposition will produce different views ; but when we consider the whole course of these Democratic leaders ; when we find them attacking the administration upon the ground of doing the very thing they themselves had authorized ; when we find them denying our right of sovereignty, denying the justice of our cause, assuming the truth of the insurgent's statements upon every question, rejecting the truth of American statements upon every question, elevating and lauding Filipino insurgent character and insurgent competency, and ascribing the most disgraceful motives and the most outrageous conduct to the representatives of their own government, both civil and military ; holding out to the insurgents the hope of success through further resistance, and painting for them in the blackest colors the dreadful consequences of failure, denying and impugning before all the world from their high places the good faith of the American Government, the integrity of the American people, and the beneficence of American rule ; arraying argument and statistics, never to encourage, but always to dishearten the American people ; insisting always upon the con-

struction of powers and methods of procedure which would make success difficult or impossible ; accepting and adopting with alacrity every aspersion upon American honor, and rejecting contemptuously every evidence of American efficiency and noble purpose ; I think we must say that the Democratic party which has allowed these things to be done in its name has failed in one more opportunity to secure the respect and confidence of the American people. I will not say that these men wished their country to fail, but I will say that they wished the Republican administration to fail, and that blinded by partisan feeling and desire for power they forgot that the failure of the administration in the Philippines would be the failure of their country.

Throughout all this storm of detraction and abuse the Republican majorities of the Senate and the House labored unceasingly to frame and perfect legislation under which the people of the Philippine Islands might have peace and order and individual freedom and prosperity. They studied the needs of the islands, the character of the people, the existing laws and system of government, and they produced and passed, against Democratic opposition, a Philippine Government Bill which exhibits a high degree of wise statesmanship and opens to the Philippine people the pathway to that enlightenment and capacity for self-government for which Rizal longed, and to the blessings which the noble and gentle McKinley believed would descend upon them under the benediction of our flag. I think they and not the others were the true friends of the Philippine people. I think they and not the others used well and wisely the powers vested in them as representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States ; and I submit to you, my countrymen, that they and not the others are entitled to the expression of your confidence in the coming election.

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